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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed.

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation.

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

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out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of more specific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *füllatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these